/557 cont./

262 natives use the following plants for food: the roots and leaves of the uryata, and the roots of the ouwunin and yeshama" /translated from Spanish/. These are not food in the true sense of the word.

Hariot:402 correctly explains, "that the natives eat only in case of absolute necessity" /translated from French/. Among these are, first of all, ā̆wánim (Osmorrhiza chilensis), the roots of which are gathered by women and girls during times when food is scarce, as well as yĕxama (Armeria chilensis), and finally wĭyata (Taraxacum magellanicum). With the roots of the first two (304)

304. These two plants are meant when Bridges says: "The roots of sea anemonies, and of a plant resembling parsnip, are much used for food and are generally baked" /cited in English/ (VP:XIII, 214; 1866).

[252]

and the leaves of the last mentioned the Indians appease their hunger (305). Of the two species first mentioned Bridges main-

305. Despard mentioned incidentally: "Today the natives gathered and ate large quantities, unwashed and raw, of a species of dandelion [Taraxacum]; they relish it very much /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129; 1859). Compare Hariot:402 and Hyades (q):338.

tains, with not a little exaggeration, that the Indians "extensively use the roots of sea pinks and of Owwúnim" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116;1869). Celery, húsun (Apium australe), is by no means a nourishing plant; nevertheless a person will occasionally put a stalk in his mouth and chew on it. He does this in order to give himself a change of taste and also to prevent vomiting (306).

[751]

306. In this connection Bridges contradicts

262 /557 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (MM:III, 116;1869): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/; in BD the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[252] Some people like to roast the celery root at the fire and then chew on it.

222 462 It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/558/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

182 In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (d):248 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181 The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

/568 cont./

252 Just as the choice of animals for food is very limited, so also is their preparation (330). From the start, the Fuegian relies

> 330. From among the opinions of many travelers we shall here quote only Barclay (a):64: "Living on mussels and fungus, this tribe marks the limit to which man may strip himself of all aid or comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind" /cited in English/.

solely on a meat diet. The isolated products of the vegetable kingdom are so insignificant and available at only certain times of the year, that he does not include them in his calculations. The preparation of food is limited to mere roasting in the fire /569/ or steaming in the ashes. Suitable utensils are lacking [445] for boiling, since the Fuegians have neither earthen nor metal vessels. In accordance with the total character of Fuegian culture, the type of diet and its preparation bear the stamp of extreme simplicity and the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, in this field also the Fuegian exercises and develops his mental powers, chiefly good judgment and a voluntary preference for the practical.

1. What They Must Do Without

147 Among the restrictions in diet that the Yamana must put up with and against which he is powerless, there are things that the European regards as indispensable. On the basis of conditions that actually exist in Tierra del Fuego and have been handed down unchanged for centuries from one generation to another, we could correct many inaccurate theories about what constitutes a healthy, beneficial, and necessary diet for man. In spite of much that these natives lack, they appear to be a healthy, vital people, who since time immemorial and in undiminished numbers have led a humanly dignified existence in their hostile environment. Their contentment has even reconciled them to all their troubles and has made them happy amid their pitiful living conditions. Their ugly physique is almost entirely the

/569 cont./

147 result of the way they are forced to sit and to work, not, however, of their diet.

262 To every stranger the most striking fact is that the Fuegians can get along with almost no food from the vegetable kingdom. What they eat in the way of fungi and berries occasionally, but always in modest amounts, cannot bear comparison with their uninterrupted meat diet. It is obviously an exaggeration for individual travelers to regard their eating of Cyttaria fungi as worth mentioning. The berries of Pernettya and Berberis have no nourishment, nor have the stalks of Apis, the leaves of Taraxacum, and the roots of Armeria. Cereals, that is, bread and flour, legumes and tubers, fruit and vegetables are unknown to the Fuegian. In summer a person will sometimes eat three or four handfuls of amáiiŋgurˇ at one time, which are the berries of Pernettya mucronata, or šɛ́pisamáim, the berries of Empetrum rubrum, and if there is a famine, he will eat only Cyttaria fungi for a few days. This, however, can never be upheld as a vegetarian meal (331) since it is obviously only a slight refreshment, an

> 331. The members of the Mission Scientifique maintain with Hyades (q):338 about the Yamana: "We never saw them make a meal of only vegetable foods" /translated from French/. Other reliable observers report it just as scarce.

expedient, or a very occasional tickling of the palate.

263 The invariable meat diet in itself scarcely gives them any real desire /570/ for salt, although all the meat is extremely fat. The meat salts probably suffice for the human body, and beyond that it gets, almost unconsciously and unnoticed, a not inconsiderable amount of salt from the sea water. In the shells of Mytilus and other mussels, in the calcareous shells of sea urchins and crabs, there is always a small amount of sea water, even though the contents have been cooked. When pieces of [252] meat of birds and seals are washed off, the Indians prefer to use sea water from which a tiny amount of salt inevitably remains on the meat.

/581/ 3. How They Prepare the Food

252 Like the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 296), our Yamana are also exclusively meat-eaters (353). This means, as Hyades

> 353. This means, conversely, according to Hyades (q):338: "We have never seen them make a meal of vegetable foods alone" /translated from French/.

(d):306 expresses himself: "their food is exclusively animal" /translated from French/. Because of all kinds of hindrances, however, they cannot spend much time or effort in preparing their food. The simplicity to which their entire household management is geared is clearly reflected in their type of diet and the preparation of their food.

The Fuegians, like any other primitive people in the wide world, do not eat most of their food in a raw state. It is a proved fact that in everyday circumstances they roast, steam, or boil every morsel that they eat, with very few exceptions. Many observers have unanimously confirmed this. Bridges' (e):332 assertions merit full confidence: "The Yahgans do not eat raw meat, neither fowl nor fish, but cook [roast!] all their meat at the fire"; and in (h):205: "They do not eat meat or fish raw" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (f):564 repeatedly emphasized that "they eat all this food only after having put it in the ashes or over the fire" /translated from French/, and (b): 1345 that "foods are preferably eaten cooked or partially roasted" /translated from French/. Certain restrictions, such as Despard's (b):680 that "all food, but limpets, is roasted" /cited in English/, are correct, but in this case it means that only meat is roasted at the open fire, whereas mussels and snails are heated in the ashes.

Moreover, in these general statements it is assumed that the Indians are not hindered in the preparation of their food by unusual circumstances. A family which has accidentally been cut off without a fire on a small island must, of course, to avoid starving to death, swallow the meat of birds and shellfish raw.

/581 cont./

•252 These are emergency situations, however, which Fitz-Roy (a):184 has characterized as follows: "When there is time, the natives roast their shell-fish, and half-roast any other food that is of a solid nature; but when in haste, they eat fish, as well as meat, in a raw state" /cited in English/. As confirmation, we finally have the testimony of the catechist Lewis: "During the whole twenty years in which I have known them I have never seen or heard of a Fuegian eating even a piece of raw meat or uncooked mussel. The latter shellfish is the staff of life with them, but they always cook them, and never eat raw meat. Their food is grilled on the embers or baked in the ashes of the fire" /cited in English/ (MM: XII, 248;1878) (354). This alone proves the significance of the

354. Compared to the many definite assertions of conscientious observers, the vague words of Lovisato (b):151 and Outes (g):52, for example, lose all their reliability.

fire, which each family constantly maintains, even in the canoe, during their journeys which are usually long (p. 43).

/582/ They are content with merely the action of heat and fire on their food; it is impossible to do more with it because pots and vessels are lacking. There is no actual cooking (355).

[415] [412]

355. If someone should happen to need something warm, he fills a large Voluta snail shell, places it in the ashes, and puts a few small stones which have been heated in the fire into the shell with fire tongs. In this process, of course, the water never evaporates, hence it would not be suitable for cooking meat or vegetables.

At the same time it is impossible to use spices and condiments. If they were added, they would disappear in the fire. I can only repeat with Hyades (p):328 that "intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substances are not known" /translated from French/.

/582 cont./

252 The only taste that a morsel offers is what it has naturally.

When the Indian has caught a seal and skinned it, he dissects the carcass into as many large pieces as he has neighbors to whom he must give presents (p. 314). If he is somewhere by himself, he first takes off the outer layer of fat and hangs the carcass on a high branch. He cuts off only as much meat as can be eaten. The lump of meat, which is almost never washed beforehand, is placed on glowing wood embers that give off no flame and glow evenly; thus the meat does not immediately burn. It is turned at brief intervals with a stick until it is done to a certain extent. Less juice is lost and the heat treatment is more uniform if a short stick is pounded into the earth near the embers. The upper end of the stick is pointed, and the lump of meat is pressed on it so as to hang down like a small, limp flag. When one side has had enough heat, the piece is turned around with the fingers. The turning is repeated at short intervals until even the innermost layers are tender. If there is a great deal of dripping fat, a mussel shell is placed underneath to catch it. The meat of the whale and guanaco is roasted in the same way, for it can be conveniently cut into uniformly thick pieces after the bones have been carved out.

When the Indian woman has a bird which she has just killed, she first opens the breast and abdominal cavity with a lengthwise incision of a mussel shell and tears out all the entrails with a few vigorous pulls. She lets the dogs have these. Only occasionally she rinses out the blood-filled body cavity with water. She cuts off the head straight across and high up. Then she plucks out the larger feathers by grasping a bunch of them in her hand and pulling them out with a sharp jerk. The lower sections of wings and legs she breaks off at the joints. She does not waste any time over the short, fine feathers, but holds the carcass near the flame and singes them. She scrapes off the small burned parts with a mussel shell. A penguin, which has a very thick layer of meat over the breast bone, /583/ is cut up or torn apart into several uneven pieces. These are placed on the embers to roast or are impaled on small perpendicular sticks beside the fire. The carcass of a cormorant, which has dry, tough meat is also treated in this way, but more often the body cavity is filled with heated stones the size of a fist or smaller and the entire animal

/583 cont./

252 is placed on a low fire. The heat inside and out is slow but steady.

Before fish are brought to the fire, the Indian woman opens the abdomen with a mussel shell or with a vigorous bite of her teeth and eviscerates the animal with her fingers. She scrapes off most of the scales with a mussel shell. Then she immediately piles up a thick layer of hot ashes near the flame and puts the fish in a deep bed of these ashes. Sometimes she also puts a single smoldering piece of charcoal on top of it. In this sheath the fish bakes slowly but evenly. When the Indian woman afterwards lifts it out, she scrapes it more carefully than before to get the remaining scales and all the ashes off. I observed the custom mentioned by Hyades (c):142 that "fish and game are partly roasted on the fire and basted with clear water, like all the drinking water" /translated from French/. Only one Indian woman explained to me that this made the meat tastier. The small fish from the schools of herring, ĺĕšči, were usually baked in the hot ashes. Sometimes the Indians prepared a savory morsel in the manner described correctly by Lovisato (b):142: "Sometimes a few small fish are cooked in seal fat or in the pestiferous fat of putrid whale; a Mytilus shell heated in the fire is put inside, and then some hot pebbles are put on top of the fish" /translated from Italian/. This preparation takes somewhat more time, but it is chosen by the people when they know they are free for days from food worries because of the abundant masses of fish.

Birds' eggs, like fish, are always placed in hot ashes. First at least a small hole, sometimes two, are bored in the shell so that it does not burst in the uneven heat. The egg is frequently turned in the hot ashes, but is left there until it is quite hard inside. A Yamana would never eat half-cooked, much less raw eggs (356). BD:68 gives warukéna, "to cook eggs as the natives

356. Lewis has explained this convincingly: "Even eggs are invariably cooked [in the ashes of the fire]. I remember Mrs. Lewis once asking an Indian woman at Ushuaia to find and bring her some wild goose eggs, and to her surprise the woman brought them already cooked" /cited in English/ (MM: XXIV, 84;1890).

/583 cont./

252 do, with great care, in the ashes or embers" /cited in English/.

In the household of the Yamana the fat of mammals plays an important part and is very much in demand (357). The layer

> 357. We often read, as in Bridges (a):213: "Whale-blubber is the most highly esteemed dish, and they soon get very fat on it" /cited in English/.

of fatty tissue which is very thick directly under the skin is /584/ cut off in long strips with mussel shells and hung over tree branches. They are taken down as needed. They are preferably roasted between hot stones because they taste best that way. A rather large flat stone is first heated thoroughly at the fire and set firmly on the ground near the fire. When the second, smaller flat stone also seems hot enough, a thin lappet of fat is laid on the first stone and covered with the second. They are called hapătux. After several minutes the piece is already brown on the outside and well roasted inside. We may add briefly that whale meat is always prepared in this manner, sometimes also that of seals and guanacos, because the fat does not drip out completely nor is the surface scorched. If someone wants a crisp piece of fat, he hangs it up on a small stick driven into the ground near the fire and exposes it to the radiating heat. A great deal of fat drips off which is caught in flat Mytilus shells and sometimes in the large shell of the Voluta snail. The very much shriveled fat tissue tickles the palate of the gourmet. The melted fat, kun, is collected in pieces of sea lion intestines.

For later use the fatty tissue is cut up into short finger-thick strips and stuffed into a piece of gut. The fat melts if it is kneaded between the fingers or exposed to the heat near the fire and in hot ashes. The piece of gut has been previously turned inside out, cleaned, tied shut at one end, filled with air and fastened at the other end with sinews. It is used only after it is dry, and now it is filled with pieces of fat instead of air, or immediately with liquid blubber, and tied shut with sinews. For greater safety, a short, thin little stick, like a sausage skewer, has been stuck into one end, in front of which the threads are wound so that they do not slide out. After the gut has been filled, the

/584 cont./

252 same thing is done at the other end. These blubber sausages, yáiyi, are easy to handle and they are hung up in the hut on strings. Often they are also filled with the fat of seals. Sometimes a larger amount of blubber is collected in the stomach of a sea lion.

Another kind of sausage, known as kéti, is made from the blood that collects in the abdominal cavity of a freshly killed sea lion or guanaco. It is poured into a soft, not yet dried piece of gut which, as we said before, is tied shut and placed in hot ashes. While it is roasting, they poke small holes into it with a small pointed stick, to keep it from bursting. Furthermore, they collect the heart, lungs, liver, the stomach walls cut into pieces, and the blood and fat tissues of a cormorant or wild goose, stuff all these small parts into the alimentary canal of the bird, knead them thoroughly on the outside with the fingers, and let them roast in hot ashes.

The women always have a supply of dried, short pieces of gut in order not to miss the frequent opportunity of collecting blubber. They also save /585/ the large, firm alimentary canal of the álakuš (Tachyeres cinereus) which they have previously blown up and dried. They like this particularly well to fill with blubber because it is easy to get and because it is wider than the alimentary canal of other birds.

262 It is well known that mussels are the chief ingredient in the diet of our Fuegians (358). Other shells and snails, which are

358. Bridges is entirely right when he says: "Mussels are to the Firelanders what bread is to the Englishman -- the staff of life all the year round" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 58; 1876). M'Cormick:I, 315 had already used the same comparison: "Limpets [are] their favorite food, and, as bread is with us, their staff of life" /cited in English/.

found there in much smaller amounts, are also eaten (359). The

359. Hyades (f):563 confirms this: The

/585 cont./

262 mollusks are the one somewhat constant article in the native diet" /translated from French/.

252 The preparation of the double-shelled mussels is a simultaneous steaming and boiling. When the Indian woman tears the mussel loose under water, it shuts its two valves tight; it does the same when it is exposed by low tide. It retains a few drops of sea water inside so that its breathing organs do not dry up. When it is placed in the heat of the fire, these drops are heated inside and finally turn to steam. By the time the force of the steam tears open the locked shells, the meat is tender. Thanks to the slight amount of salt in which it is steeped, it is really very tasty. Snails and crabs, as well as other lower animals, such as chitons, yĕkĕr, are steamed in hot ashes, hence they are drier and nowhere near as tasty as ĕxuf and kecoin.

This concludes the list of foods which the Fuegian prepares in a special way. Almost all of them originate in the sea or on the shore. Bove (d):291 thus maintains, very correctly: "The sea furnishes the principal foods of the Fuegians. Fish, limpets, crabs, seals, aquatic birds, in short whatever the sea produces forms part of their diet" /translated from Italian/. In the vegetable kingdom it is only fungi of the Cyttari species which are not often specially prepared, but are dried by being skewered on small sticks, strung up to form a chain, and put near the fire. Fungi gathered in winter and completely frozen are laid near the fire to thaw. Celery roots (Apium australe) are roasted in hot ashes. Only a few things are eaten raw (p. 324).

4. How They Eat

264 The entire conduct of the Fuegians at meals is repulsive to a European. To condemn them for this would be unjust because they are completely deprived of many comforts which are taken for granted by us in our ordered circumstances. Nevertheless, they, too, are guided by certain rules in eating. Sometimes they show extraordinary self-control. Finally, they do not by any means take anything and everything indiscriminately, just to satisfy their voracious appetite or to fill their stomachs.

/586 cont./

262 /untranslated/). If, in a period of great hunger, they would have to eat a fox or an otter (362), they are unreservedly emphatic

362. Fitz-Roy (a):184 says that "the otter is valued, excepting the body part, which they seldom eat unless hard pressed by hunger" /cited in English/.

about the sharp, bad taste of the meat. With the exception of the fat and meat of the whale, the Yamana do not touch putrid or moldy meat (363). Of the latter species, the southern whale,

363. Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains, and Lovisato (b):142 uses almost the same words, that "they eat any thing and every thing that is eatable, without being particular as to its state of freshness, or as to its having been near the fire" /cited in English/. This general statement, however, is misleading.

lḗmuka (Balaena australis), is most prized because of its tasty meat. On the other hand, the finback, číyix (Ziphius spec.?), is not touched because its fat has a laxative effect. Fitz-Roy (a):185 asserted that "the fins of a dead whale are esteemed" /cited in English/, but the liver of the whale is rejected. The fat of the large grampus, ēpā́jačі (Orcinus orca), is thought to be poisonous, and for this reason alone no one touches it.

Our natives are dependent all the year round on mussels and snails, čipā́ala, and they know very well that these animals are not uniformly tasty at every season. From each small pile that they have gathered, they conscientiously reject the pieces that are not as good as others or even bad. They say that the [753] meat of the large Voluta snail, hēflḗn, in certain areas is harmful for the brain; it makes people dizzy, and they lose their balance in walking. Anyone /587/ who observes these symptoms after eating this snail leaves the unfavorable place and warns others. [752] This type of snail, as well as a few other, smaller ones are always put into the fire first, after which the fleshy foot is torn out.

/587 cont./

262 This is all that is eaten; the adjoining soft parts are thrown away. Strangely enough, the Yamana reject the tender meat of the Solen, the evenly shaped shells of which serve them as knife and scraper. Several green and brown algae that White settlers there like to eat are rejected by our natives as a matter of principle.

262 177 Not anything and everything that Europeans like and that they offered the Fuegians was accepted by them. They have to this day very emphatically rejected many things, for example, cow's milk. Other things, such as wine and other alcoholic beverages, they accepted only later. Hence it is not just the taste that makes them decide on one thing or another. Beyond that they reserve for themselves a freedom of choice that cannot be influenced.

262 252 In part this also comes out in the different procedures used in the preparation of individual foods. Above all, meat may never be roasted long enough to become quite dry and hard. They find it most wholesome when it is still red inside. They are always intent on providing themselves whenever possible with their favorite blubber sausages (p. 320), because they do not want to be without blubber, kun, for long. Since they do not have vegetables and spices, they get a little variety into their diet with the liquid blubber. The craving for fat in those damp, cold regions is probably also a factor. A person who wants to eat the berries of Pernettya mucronata or the dry Cyttaria fungi pours oil from the whale or sea lion into a large Mytilus shell and dips each piece into it before putting it into his mouth. In the same manner he eats certain mussels or pieces of meat from birds if the meat is dry and tough. Sometimes the dried Cyttaria fungi are soaked for a longer time in oil. The small lieśi, as well as other fish, after they are baked in ashes, are dipped into the oil before they are eaten. Our Fuegians lack the most necessary items to prepare their food in a somewhat better and more complicated fashion; they are curtailed and impeded in all directions.

Only a few things are regularly eaten raw by them, except when they are in serious distress. This includes berries, especially those of Pernettya mucronata, and all fungi, most of which, like yĕlus, have a spongy meat. They like to pick the large Cyttaria

/587 cont./

darwinii from the beech boughs while it still has a smooth surface. Its texture is then very elastic and pleasant to chew. Old, dry pieces are soaked in blubber shortly before they are eaten. The so-called "tongues," apej, actually the sex organs of the sea urchin, Ihil (Echinus), are picked out of the broken calcareous shell with the fingers /588/ and immediately eaten; the milky liquid in the shell is drunk also. The abundant iodine content of these parts stimulates the appetite, which is why the Indians often eat them (364). Naturally, they eat all of these things im-

364. Martial:192 reports: "The sea urchin remains their favorite dish and is always eaten 'even when one is not hungry,' our interpreter told us, and willingly demonstrated this rule": /translated from French/. Contrary to the view expressed by Hyades (f):504, we should like to repeat that the above-mentioned parts are always eaten raw.--It is well known that the tongues of sea urchins are regarded as a delicacy in Argentina and Chile and are chiefly eaten raw with all kinds of condiments.

mediately after these animals have been taken out of the sea. The soft meat of Fissurella, [illegible] (amiokin in the western dialect), and of Patella, aywepa, is squeezed out of the calcareous shell with a slight pressure of the fingers and is eaten without any preparation, except that occasionally the little morsel of fish is dipped into seal blubber. Some people find the raw fat of the young whale tasty. With the exception of the unimportant things mentioned here, every Yamana regularly exposes his food to the fire or the almost equal effect of hot ashes (365).

365. Spears:76 repeats a word from Bridges: "I have never seen or heard of the Yahgans eating any kind of meat or fish raw except certain kinds of limpets" /cited in English/. Previously Snow (a):1, 345 had already

/588 cont./

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252

assured us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyades (p):328, vouch for this general rule.

262 Although the Fuegian literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. 309). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone ob-
262 222 [887] serves. A law given by Yoŋlox says that berries -- actually, only those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered prematurely, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many amʌ́im there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "amʌ́in agʌ́iu, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /589/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At
262 certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

264 576 Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called Ɣʌ́mja which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

262 /590 cont./
164 they are capable in other circumstances.

Every traveler has frequent and ready opportunity to observe
264 their conduct while eating. It is anything but beautiful. Usually
252 the individual squats beside the fire and waits until the piece of meat in the embers or ashes is done. He takes it out with a little stick, lets it cool a bit on stones or bits of brush lying about, and picks it up with /591/ both fists. Sometimes the piece is still so hot that he cannot hold it. Even so, he tears off large bites with his strong teeth and swallows them without ostensibly chewing. From a large roast the pieces are torn off more than bitten off and swallowed in sizable chunks. Strangely enough, the Yamana chews very little. This applies also to the sometimes tough meat of birds. He quickly swallows hot morsels that he cannot keep in his mouth and following them sometimes takes a swallow of water or a small lump of snow (272). Since they

272. The Selk'nam have the same habit (Vol. I, 297).

quickly put the too hot morsel into their mouths, they constantly make a sucking sound while they move it around in their mouths.

When the mussels that were shoved onto the embers are done, they burst open by themselves. They are fished out with a little stick and allowed to cool a bit on the ground. Then in one hand the Indian takes the shell to which the meat adheres, holds it horizontally, breaks off the empty shell with his other hand, and with his fingers tears out the meat which he immediately pops into his mouth. Finally he holds the flat mussel shell itself to his lips, since the drops accumulated in it are very tasty, and sucks them in noisily. Snail shells are broken into pieces with a handy stone to expose the roasted contents, and the same is done with the calcareous covering of the tasty sea acorn, ilpa (Balanus psittacus).

Blubber sausages and the less common blood sausages are opened at one end, held up to the mouth, and the contents fall in. They place baked fish on the trampled earth and separate them with their fingers, the thumb nails used chiefly. The large crabs, axiya (Lithodes antarctica), as well as mekélus (Paralomis

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verrucosus), which are put in hot ashes, steam and cook until they are tender, since the slight amount of water in the shell turns into steam. Then the individual members are broken off, and the meat is removed with a small stick or is sucked out of the shell.

The meat of roasted birds is generally tough. It is grasped with both hands so that individual pieces can be torn off. In eating, the Yamana works only with his hands and fingers; he is not familiar with knives, forks, or spoons. Large drops of blubber and fat often fall off, some of which he catches with his mouth, the rest he licks off with his tongue. He wipes his fat-drenched hands first on his thighs, then on skins or the inside wall of his hut. After what has been said, it is not surprising that his whole body, especially his face, glistens with fat.

Fat from the whale and sea lion is sometimes melted in a shallow mussel shell of [illegible] (Mytilus) or [illegible]ina (Venus or Mactra) placed in hot ashes (373). Blubber drippings are also

373. We read in Le Nature:312 that a large mussel shell serves "as plate, as the dish in which fish oil is melted to serve as seasoning" /translated from French/.

caught in it, /352/ as well as in the shell of the Voluta snail or on a shoulder blade of a seal. It is immediately drunk or collected in a piece of gut. It is not customary, however, to heat up liquid blubber deliberately. We cannot emphasize too often that the Yamana eat liquid blubber, but, several times a day, but always in small amounts, say, a mouthful (374).

374. Even Spencer:102 noticed that "they drink this, like Scot's Emulsion" /cited in English/.

The meal proceeds very noisily with the common inhaling and smacking of lips. Remnants of food are immediately burned in the nearby fire or thrown to the dogs which lope about obnoxiously and are boldly persistent. While the Indian eats, he is very silent and devotes all his attention to what he is doing.

/ATS cont./

and often him what he prefers. She roasts the larger pieces of meat in and beside the fire, bakes and cooks the fish and mussels, crabs, and birds' eggs in hot ashes. She also provides drinking water and fetches it herself if none of her daughters is free to do it. Everyone expects her to make the small pieces of jewelry, such as necklaces and anklets.

/ATS/ Her field of work is the hut. She takes part, together with her husband, even in its construction and repairs damaged places and sections that have been loosened by the wind. She devotes particular attention to the hut fire, guarding it day and night, regulating the radiation of heat and the streaming flames, and seeing to it that the draft comes from the right direction and the smoke quickly draws off. It is hard to believe how much attention and what numerous manipulations the hut fire demands if it is to benefit every member of the family and not annoy anyone. She prepares the sleeping place for everyone just as he wants it, and from time to time she renews the pallet. A good deal of refuse accumulates in the small living quarters, and the woman sees to it that this is promptly removed. She performs her many manual labors in the hut and in front of it, and she devotes herself tirelessly to the care of her children.

Her second field of activity is the canoe. It is the man's task to build it, but thereafter the care of this important means of transportation is entirely in her hands. She demands that the man make the repairs needed in the course of time, but she alone manages the canoe on the water and guards it on the beach (p.134). Before the family embarks, she gets the canoe ready so that everyone can comfortably pile in his things and easily climb in. She alone takes care of the paddling, which combines rowing and steering, and that is why she regularly takes her place at the stern end. She has previously come to an agreement with her husband as to the destination and the course. He gives her specific directions when he is on the trail of game. She anxiously guards the fire so that there is no danger to the bottom of the canoe, and she trains her children to keep it gently burning. To avoid capsizing, she sees to it that the occupants distribute themselves properly and that heavy pieces of game do not disturb the balance. She is always very conscious of the fact that on the water she alone is responsible for the boat and for her entire family.

/876 cont./

Our Indian woman contributes incomparably more to her family's sustenance than does her neighbor on Isla Grande. This is no exaggeration. One need only keep in mind that the alone gathers the mussels, which for the Yamana are as important as bread for a European. Her gathering activity, which lasts several hours on most days, also extends to snails and crabs, sea urchins and birds' eggs, berries and fungi. She catches many a fish with her fishline and many a young bird in its nest. All these articles of game benefit her whole family. She prepares for roasting the large mammals and the birds which her husband brings to the hut. Since no regular mealtimes are observed, she must serve first this one and then that one. She makes the popular blubber sausages (p. 310) and bakes the appetizing blood sausages in hot ashes. Finally, it is her task to dry Cyttaria fungi. Without this varied co-operation of the woman, the menu /877/ of the Yamana would be lamentably monotonous. She shows amazing skill and tireless endurance in obtaining food through the year (p. 281).

With all these manifold duties, there are all kinds of smaller manual tasks. Seal, otter, and guanaco pelts and the skins of birds require a great deal of work. She must stretch, scrape, and, in part, dress them. She makes all the objects of leather and skin, especially bags and pouches, ornaments and toys, and naturally also the little that is used for body covering. For her personal use she needs small baskets and skin pouches. For the latter she chooses the alimentary canal of *Hiakuf* (*Tachyeres brachypterus*) and pieces of seal gut. She works on them during the brief intervals when she is free of other obligations. She looks for and prepares the colored earth for red and white body painting, prepares the fishing lines, and braids the rush hawsers for the canoe and the tendons for various uses (see particularly pp. 98, 196, 201).

If we add all this together, we are amazed and astonished at the extraordinarily extensive and versatile daily achievement of our Indian woman. Superficial travelers took this as a reason for describing her lot as oppressive and undignified, her burden of work as unbearable, and her existence as inhuman (87).

87. Bove (c):127 and (d):292 is one of those Europeans who exaggerate the most: "While

/837 cont./

X881 252 At work here are three to five women who have declared themselves willing to undertake the busy position of a so-called cook. They voluntarily put themselves at the leader's disposal. Although their work is not hard, it demands many sacrifices of them, the most difficult being to relinquish uninterrupted participation in the events in the Great Hut. /838/ These women spend most of their time in their kitchen quarters and meanwhile forgo the entertaining fellowship with the others. Formerly they prepared mussels, crabs, meat, and blubber; today they cook a thick soup of legumes, with mutton if they have it, in a bucket or large metal tub. When these Indians promised to let me take part in my first and second initiations (p. 652, 658), they requested European food and all kinds of extras. The Yamana do not have a special name for the cooks; they are simply makalíku kípa, that is, "capable, handy women." The cookhut is simply kípa čkěrř, "hut for the women." In March, 1922, the chief women in the hut were the wife of Pedro and the wife of Calderon, and they were assisted by the two sisters, Gertie and Adelheid. Actually, throughout the whole ceremony, they missed the proceedings in the Great Hut for several hours each day.

X881 252 244 If there should be no volunteers for this kitchen duty, the leader must specifically appoint several persons. He also reminds them of the three meals, which, according to ancient custom, occur in the early morning, at noon, and at twilight. The women are already well aware of this. In modern times these hours are kept automatically since the Indians have become accustomed to them by their routine on the farms. During the initiation, however, they are not too exact; when the women have the food ready, they bring it to the Great Hut where every other activity is immediately cut short. When the cooks have finished their day's work, they take their places in the Great Hut and, along with the rest of the adults, take part in the performances, preferring especially the dances and games in the evening.

γ. Guard Duty

X881 625 Just as inconspicuously as the leader divides the work of building the Great Hut among certain men and the kitchen

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262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last [263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 **Hunting.**—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting. 223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 **Fishing and sea-food gathering.**—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 **Food storage.**—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 **Food preparation and eating.**—Large mussel shells were used for [252] melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark buckets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 621 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives related apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-